

policy was equally successful. However, it is evident that the Ragusan governmental institutions planned on long-term basis and were committed to a rational development strategy of the Republic.

A methodological novelty in the research of Paola Pinelli is her leaning on the potential of the private correspondence of the Italian merchants in Dubrovnik. Namely, only a part of their business dealings they registered at the state notary office, while the rest they entered into private documents and ledgers, acting upon trust and avoiding the expensive and sluggish official registration. This explains, as the author stresses, why an important portion of the business dealings simply cannot be gleaned from the contracts registered in the chancery and notary books of the State Archives in Dubrovnik. By comparing the data from the private correspondence with the official documents, the author was able to weave a realistic canvas of the trade across the Adriatic: the latter do not provide information that can be found in the former, while the indignant overtone of the private letters is discarded by the reliable information from the official sources, which shows that the periods of crisis and prosperity interchanged. The author argues that the Tuscan entrepreneurs were not so much driven away from home by the crisis, but were rather attracted by the opportunities that the stimulating Ragusan policy had to offer.

Until a couple of years ago, the beginnings of textile industry in Dubrovnik in the early fifteenth century seemed like one of the more densely-written pages of Dubrovnik's history book, a topic hardly to be found among the research priorities, as it has already been thoroughly sifted. Most recent publications of our Italian colleagues (Pinelli, Bettarini, D'Atri) provide a host of unexpected data and an insight into the broader context of the trade routes and ventures that attracted merchants from both coasts of the Adriatic. Their sound discussions represent an outstanding step forward, and a most commendable contribution to the historiography of Dubrovnik.

Some thirty years after the establishment of the factory at Pile, Filippo Diversi remarked that Piero Pantella was not only worthy of having his name stamped in gold in the book of merchants, but was to have a marble statue erected in his honour in the centre of the city. With her book, Paola Pinelli has symbolically fulfilled the long-ago uttered words of her compatriot, and has erected a monument to Pantella "more lasting than bronze".

Nella Lonza

*Katedrala Gospe Velike u Dubrovniku*, ed. Katarina Horvat-Levaj [Studije i monografije Instituta za povijest umjetnosti, book 46]. Dubrovnik - Zagreb: Gradska župa Gospe Velike, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2014. Pages 592.

The celebration of the 300th anniversary of the completion and consecration of the Baroque Cathedral of Our Lady (1713-2013) has been crowned with a monumental edition on the history and artistic heritage of Dubrovnik's head church, its present-day building and decoration, as well as the vanished 'old cathedrals'. Lavishly illustrated, co-produced by the City parish of *Gospa Velika* and the Institute of Art History in Zagreb under the editorial supervision of Katarina Horvat-Levaj, the volume comprises the texts of thirteen authors, exceptional photographs contributed by Paolo Mofardin and architectural drawings by Ivan Tenšek and Ivana Valjato-Vrus.

Arranged chronologically, the first thematic section on the history of Dubrovnik's Cathedral opens with a series of contributions by Danko Zelić on the architecture of the old cathedrals in which, on the basis of the findings of the archaeological excavations on the site started in 1981 as well as the written sources, he summarises the until now known data on the buildings which

antedeceded the present-day Baroque structure. Completely unknown until the mentioned archaeological excavations prompted by the earthquakes that struck the City in 1979 is a complex of a Byzantine three-nave basilica with an early medieval four-leafed *memorium* preserved underneath *Buničeva poljana*, which continues to puzzle art historians, especially the dating of the original building and the two archaeologically confirmed reconstructions. Diverse interpretations of the history of the oldest church are most thoroughly and insightfully presented, especially with regard to the reports of the head of the research team Josip Stošić, whose conclusions—which he himself modified as the research advanced—greatly departed from the theses submitted by other researchers. The three-nave Romanesque cathedral which succeeded the older basilica structure, started in the twelfth century, is better documented in the written sources, although the beginnings of its erection and the reasons for building a new church are fairly obscure and hover somewhere ‘between legend and reality’. Danko Zelić exhaustively analyses the accounts of the Ragusan chroniclers and the generally scarce archival data on the cathedral destroyed in the Great Earthquake of 1667, followed by the artistic presentations of the City and the descriptions of Filippo de Diversis (1440), Pietro Casola (1494) and Baron de Salignac (1605), here given in Croatian translation.

Material remains of the former cathedrals—fragments of stone decoration as well as the remains of the frescoes discovered in the preserved parts of the former apse and to a somewhat lesser extent on the side walls of the church nave—are meticulously analysed by Igor Fisković. In relation to the previous chapter on the architecture of the old buildings beneath the present-day cathedral, in which distinction is being made between the *Byzantine basilica* and the *Romanesque cathedral*, the chapter on their artistic decoration discusses three churches: that of the late antiquity, whose remains include the fragments of cyanite columns and the corresponding Corinthian capitals, along with a marble base found in the basilica itself; early-medieval, confirmed by the fragments of stone decoration, and the Romanesque, documented by the written sources and whose structure survived until the disastrous earthquake of 1667. Style features of the figural painting of the older layers of the cathedral served as basis for a rough dating of the particular fragments. Thus the depictions in the apse and on the wall of the south nave are assumed to date from the last third of the eleventh century, those in the front part of the structure and on the outer surface are assumed to date “from the start of the twelfth century to the last day of the original cathedral”. The stone decoration of the later, Romanesque cathedral has survived virtually in fragments, particularly if compared to the written accounts which describe it as a magnificent, extravagantly designed and decorated building. Archival data on the building of the new church mention also the names of the master builders. Given chronologically, the first was Eustasius, son of *protomagister* Bernard of Trani, who from 1199 was in charge of the execution of the sculptural decoration, and possibly also of the construction work on the cathedral. The origin of this master bears witness to the connections with the artistic centres of the Italian region of Apulia, detected also in the architectural articulation of the exterior surface of the Romanesque cathedral by the exterior galleries, but equally so in the apparent similarity between certain carved fragments and the solutions of the same iconographic tasks executed in Trani, e.g. the representation of Jacob’s dream, fragmentarily preserved among the remains of Dubrovnik’s Romanesque cathedral, whose source may be traced in the same relief scene on the portal of the cathedral in Trani. Only a few among the masters later employed on the construction and decoration of the cathedral, mentioned in the archives and elucidated in the complementing chapters of Danko Zelić and Igor Fisković—*protomagister* Paskva, Damian of Rab, stonemason Cyprian and his brother Vita, Nicola Corvo and his son Ivan, Menegus Čovenin and his sons from Venice—could be attributed with the specific assignments on the cathedral complex. However, the situation is somewhat different with the documented paintings in the former cathedral analysed in the chapter on the

interior decoration of the old cathedral, for which the sources provide names and even iconographic themes of the wall and altar paintings dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which completely vanished with the destruction of Romanesque building. A reliable source for the reconstruction of the pre-earthquake decoration of the cathedral is an elaborate visitation report of Giovanni Francesco Sormani from 1573 which, in combination with the extant contracts and other data, affords a vivid picture of the lost artistic treasure.

Naturally, the monograph mainly deals with the present-day Baroque building erected after the earthquake of 6 April 1667 which considerably altered the city's image. In the chapters discussing the architecture of the new cathedral, Katarina Horvat-Levaj meticulously surveys the chronology of the construction, a succession of architects and engineers engaged on the project from its commission in 1671 until the cathedral's solemn opening for the religious service in January 1713. A close study of the correspondence and instructions of the abbot Stjepan Gradić—an essential figure in the process of the erection of the new church of Our Lady, but also in the rebuilding of the city after the earthquake—as well as the research of the archival documents filed in the State Archives in Dubrovnik, helped reconstruct and elaborate in detail the construction stages and portray the architects and chief engineers engaged in the works: author of the original project Andrea Bufalini (1670-1671), chief engineer in Dubrovnik Paolo Andreotti (1672-1674), Pier Antonio Bazzi (1677-1680) hitherto known only as a sculptor, then author of the redesigned project, Sicilian architect Tommaso Maria Napoli (1689-1698), and lastly, a local master Ilija Katičić, who worked on the cathedral's completion (1704-1713). The author rightly leaves open the question of the possible role of Marino Gropelli on the cathedral's finalisation: although engaged on the construction of the church of St Blaise, the architect from Venice took part in the design of the main altar and the positioning of the side altars, and the attribution of the tomb monument of Archbishop Toma Antun Scotti in the sacristy to Gropelli is plausible. The chapters on the cathedral's architectural solution bring for this purpose an expanded version of the years' research of Katarina Horvat-Levaj, and before the reader's eyes, stone by stone, there rises a monumental Baroque building of St Mary's, always in a clearly defined correlation of the original plan with the actual realisation. A succession of dominantly Italian architects and builders is given a wider artistic background: within the analysis of every construction stage, each of these men is placed within the context of the contemporary Italian architecture, as an additional confirmation of the cathedral's high quality—its architects and builders commissioned during the lifetime of Stjepan Gradić came from the Baroque Rome, where they were active in the circles of the great masters Carlo Rainaldi, Gianlorenzo Bernini, Francesco Borromini and Carlo Fontana. The last in this list has been credited with recommending the architect who marked the final stage of the cathedral's construction (1689-1698) after a twenty-year halt in the works, a Sicilian architect Tommaso Maria Napoli, credited with the principal alterations in the upper zones of the cathedral in relation to the original project. Diverse influences which marked the architecture of the Baroque cathedral—a three-nave basilica with side chapels and a dome above the crossing—has been elucidated in the chapter »Podrijetlo arhitektonskog tipa i kontekst« [The origin of the architectural type and context], not only architectural disposition and the solution of the church's main façade in the light of similar Italian examples (notably those in Rome, but also in Naples and Genoa), but also the influence of this monumental building on the architecture of the neighbouring area. In the parts of the book dealing with the architecture of 'the old and new' cathedrals, of outstanding value are the architectural drawings not only of the current state and comparative examples, but of the original project as compared to the realisation, and the ground plans and cross sections showing different layers of the building as a vivid testimony to the centuries-long continuity of the City's most important church.

A host of until now unknown data on the decoration of the Baroque cathedral is discussed in a chapter contributed by Daniel Premerl, who on the basis of the letters of the cathedral's procurators (*procuratori di Santa Maria Maggiore*), their bookkeeping journal (*Giornale*), as well as the documents of the state treasurers (*tesorieri di Santa Maria Maggiore*) boldly treads a *terra incognita* in the history of the cathedral, but equally so in the Croatian art history: the provenance of the design of the marble altars of the cathedral in the context of Naples, as well as the sculpture workshops of Massa Carrara. The marble decoration of the cathedral in the form of altars in the side chapels and the mensa of the main altar arrived in the cathedral gradually, over a period of almost one century following the solemn opening of the new building in 1713. The scrutiny of the procurators and treasurers during their commission, but also an absence of great private donators who, the author stresses, "usually competed in commissioning the works of art for many other churches of the world and the City so as to display their faith, status, power, immortality", are a clear reflection of the state supervision over the interior decoration throughout the whole process of the cathedral's construction. Exhausted by the decades of its building and, generally, by the restoration of the city after the earthquake, the Republic did not insist on the extensive decoration of the cathedral's interior before its consecration and opening in 1713, but for the lack of financial means resorted to a provisional display of the works of art from other city churches and the surroundings (which in some cases proved to be 'a permanent borrowing'), leaving the commission of new altars for the future. Chronologically the earliest altar is that devoted to St Bernard in the northern transept arm, the work of *marmoraro* Carlo delli Frangi from Naples (1719-1720) according to the last will of vicar Bernard Đurđević († 1687). A key element in the subsequent decoration of the church was the earlier altar of St John of Nepomuk in the southern transept arm, executed upon the fourth attempt in the years 1776-1778. Although designed after a drawing of Venetian provenance from 1762, the altar was made in an unknown workshop in Massa Carrara, commissioned on behalf of the Dubrovnik Republic by the state surgeon, Lorenzo Giromella. He was the one to play a pivotal role in the commissions of the main altar and baptistery (1785-1788) and the altar of *Petilovrijenci* (1802-1804), and is believed to have taken part in commissioning the altar of *Gospa od Porata* (1779-1781) and the Holy Cross (1783), also executed in the Carrara workshops. Due to subsequent alterations in the sanctuary, the design of the whole main altar remains unknown; only a marble mensa has survived to date, commissioned in Genoa and executed in one of the workshops of Massa Carrara or Livorno.

A full research of the paintings belonging to the Cathedral of Our Lady is given in the chapter of Radoslav Tomić, who classifies the extant works into three groups: altarpieces and paintings commissioned for the newly-built cathedral and the reliquary, the works borrowed from other churches of Dubrovnik and the surroundings, and a collection of paintings bequeathed to the cathedral by canon Bernard Giorgi (Đurđević). Individual works, however, have been presented in chronological order by date of origin, from the oldest painting in the cathedral, *Gospa od Porata*, to the altarpieces of Carmelo Reggio dating from early nineteenth century. Although the paintings today housed in the Dubrovnik cathedral have drawn attention of many Croatian well as foreign researchers, the author rightly observes that some works are still disputed in terms of attribution, provenance and the possible commissioners/donators. Among these, we should single out the painting *Christ Tied to the Column* by an unknown author, dated to the very beginning of the sixteenth century, the work *Madonna with Child and Angel* by Domenico Puligo, as well as the altarpiece *Adoration of the Shepherds* identified as a work of an unknown Italian painter of the late sixteenth century. A detailed analysis of each painting is accompanied by high quality illustrations which allow at least an indirect insight into the works housed outside the cathedral and the reliquary (parish office, Bishopric, deposit of the Diocesan seminary).

A survey of the artistic works inaccessible to the public is also included in the chapter on the liturgical items and votive gifts discussed by Vinicije B. Lupis, liturgical vestments by Jelena Ivoš, old books which are the property of the cathedral by Milan Pelc, and the music fund by Vjera Katalinić and Stanislav Tuksar. These contributors agree on the presumably rich collection of craftsmanship vanished in the earthquake of 1667, with a conclusion that the preserved liturgical objects, attire and the written works dating from before this year had been mostly transferred from other churches and monasteries of Dubrovnik. However, there is more data on the organs in the Dubrovnik cathedral, comprehensively examined by Miho Demović, from those which adorned the old Romanesque building (of which sporadic archival information has been preserved from 1384, when the first commission was recorded, to 1543, when the new Renaissance organ arrived from Venice) to a whole series of post-earthquake interventions started by the transfer of the organ from the Franciscan church in Slano in early 1713. Through the history of the cathedral organ, made mainly in Italian workshops (of Vincenzo Montecucchi from Ancona, 1770, Carl Hesse from Trieste, 1843, Giovanni Tonoli from Brescia, 1880, and Gustavo Zanin from Udine, 1987) with an exception of the organ constructed by Josip Brandl from Maribor (1937), it is possible to trace the city's continuously vibrant music life.

An extensive and separate whole in the cathedral's rich sacral heritage is its Reliquary and the pertaining relics, Dubrovnik's pride over the centuries. The interior decoration of the reliquary itself, with a lavishly designed cabinet for the keeping of relics ascribed to Marino Gropelli, a rail and inlaid flooring in polychrome marble executed by the already mentioned Carlo delli Frangi (1720-1721), are discussed in the chapter contributed by Daniel Premerl. Special emphasis is given to the relics and reliquaries over the centuries by Vinicije B. Lupis, an expert on the Cathedral Reliquary and its content. Dubrovnik's tradition of relic keeping—under the watchful eye of the state—proved efficient through the greatest hardships that had befallen the city, including the disastrous earthquake of 1667 after which, in the reliquary built upon the completion of the Baroque cathedral, the relics from other city churches were housed. Owing to the archive research and, most of all, to the extant inventories of the relics in the Cathedral Reliquary, the oldest dating from 1335, in addition to the comparative analysis of the style features of the reliquaries, the treasure of the relics today housed in the cathedral has been presented in detail by chronological order and style.

Until now a virtually unstudied period of the history of Dubrovnik's cathedral—nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century—is explored by Ivan Viden. Based on archival material and old photographs, some of which first published in this volume, this chapter analyses an important stage in the cathedral's history, revealed to be astonishingly rewarding and eventful. Despite a new state framework after the fall of the long-lived Dubrovnik Republic, and the fact that Dubrovnik's archbishopric was downgraded to the level of bishopric (1830), the care for the cathedral and its interior decoration continued: documented interventions on the building and its interior correspond to the emergence of organised state care for the monuments in the Dubrovnik area through the work of district engineers and conservators. A significant role in the decoration during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century was played by some of Dubrovnik's bishops, notably Bishop Josip Marčelić, whose bishopric was marked by large-scale renovation of the cathedral's interior (1908-1913) within the preparations for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Baroque building. Apart from commissioning a new retablo of the main altar, during Marčelić's bishopric the cathedral acquired "the largest gallery of historicist sculpture in Dubrovnik" in the works of Marin Radica, sculptor from Korčula and author of the former wooden pulpit, as well as a series of stone statues of saints at the front and along the balustrades of the cathedral's outside terraces. Harmonised in style with the building's Baroque architectural features, Radica's statues have made a final mark on the cathedral's outer surface.

The present-day appearance of the Cathedral of Our Lady has been greatly determined by two catastrophic earthquakes that struck the area of Dubrovnik in the spring of 1979, followed by the full-scale reconstruction of the building, but also archaeological research which resulted in most unexpected findings—discovery of the structures that preceded the Romanesque basilica. The course of the research and the renovation of the cathedral has been described by Marin Ivanović, casting light on the project of the presentation of the archaeological finds beneath the building. The care for the cathedral complex over the recent years has been affirmed by the re-opened debate on the decoration of the cathedral's sanctuary, approved by the authorised bodies in 2012, within which the works on the restoration of the former marble main altar—consisting of the late Baroque mensa and a neo-Renaissance retable installed in 1913—were initiated.

The monograph's outstanding value lies in its scientific apparatus: illustrated catalogue units of the works of art of the Baroque cathedral which, besides author and date, include also the material, i.e. technique and the dimensions of the work, along with a list and to a large extent a full transcript of all archival documents related to the cathedral (1199-1940). In assessing the publication as a whole, one cannot escape a commonly used formula "a lavishly illustrated edition", which in this case requires a further specification "in right measure", considering that the beautiful photographs of Paolo Mofardin and the architectural drawings of Ivan Tenšek and Ivana Valjato-Vrus fully complement particular parts of the text, most evidently being produced side by side. The monograph about the Cathedral of Our Lady in Dubrovnik is an outcome of the years of meticulous research conducted by the scholars of the Institute of Art History in Zagreb, carefully compiled and presented through the Herculean efforts of the editor and her collaborators. As a lasting testimony to the care of the cathedral parish for its rich legacy, the monograph is a starting-point and a compulsory reference in any future study of all the periods and layers of the Dubrovnik cathedral, but equally so of the urban development and religious life of the City.

Tanja Trška

Vesna Čučić, *The Republic of Dubrovnik: Final Crisis*. Chicago, IL: ProLibertas Publishers, 2014. Pages XXIII+208.

An earlier version of Ms. Čučić's book was published in Croatian in 2003 (Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU and Matica hrvatska in Dubrovnik), but now appears in a somewhat upgraded English-language version thanks to an able translation by Duško Čondić. As a result, this important monograph will be available to a far broader international audience. Dr. Ante Čuvalo and Ms. Ivana Čuvalo Rosandić founded the CroLibertas Publishers with the sole purpose of publishing books—original monographs, translations, and reprints—of interest to those who wish to be informed about Croatia and her history, something that should not be the project of a small diaspora publisher, but of those Croatian institutions that are responsible for promoting the best of domestic scholarship. The Čuvalos' first publication was a critical study of archival holdings from the Catholic parish of St. Jerome, a Croatian immigrant institution in Chicago, Illinois. Ms. Čučić's monograph is the second book in the series.

The demise of the Republic of Dubrovnik was not the favourite episode for those who applied themes from the history of Dubrovnik as building material for the construction of the Croat national project. Contrary to the narratives of great achievement during the Republic's heyday, the fall of the Dubrovnik polity was too depressing to bear. That in part explains why the subject was infrequently pursued. Besides the two-volume (and then strictly diplomatic) history by Lujo Vojnović (*Pad Dubrovnika*, 1908), which was published on the hundredth anniversary of the events and brought the story up to the